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## Echoes of Secy. Wilson's Ruling

— By Paul Hanna,  
Staff Correspondent, The Feder. Press.  
WASHINGTON.—Secretary Wilson's ruling in favor of the Communist Labor Party of America is a kick that sends Attorney General Palmer reeling a long way toward the end of his game of bluff, bluster and secret persecution of political opinion.

That part of the department of justice which received the full force of the blow is represented by Francis P. Garvan, assistant attorney general, in special charge of witch-burning under the New Freedom. It was Garvan who said of the destitute wives and children of men deported on the Buford that they were better off without such men, no matter what their suffering and privation. Garvan is also author of the celebrated statement that the illegal raids conducted by his office had "created belief in God" among the "agitators" for economic justice.

Garvan more than holds his own in the department of justice where he now finds himself. He is also author of the celebrated statement that the illegal raids conducted by his office had "created belief in God" among the "agitators" for economic justice.

The anguish of Palmer and Garvan is enhanced by their chilling apprehension that the White House will sustain Secretary Wilson unless the department of justice shall lay its cards on the public table and there show by argument and the law why men who aim at drastic alteration of our institutions by peaceful, constitutional means should be declared out-laws.

It is reliably reported that Secretary Wilson's sensational decision is merely a sequel to the recent cabinet meeting at which Palmer tried and failed to convince the president that seizure without warrant, imprisonment without trial and deportation without evidence were the proper and American way of dealing with persistent agitators against the rule of plutocracy.

Two facts are known. Louis F. Post wrote out his resignation when as acting secretary of labor, he began his policy of releasing aliens against whom Palmer could produce no evidence except loud-mouthed innuendo and newspaper headlines.

William B. Wilson is ready to quit as secretary of labor if, without considering the facts of the law, the White House should give its support to Attorney General Palmer and Garvan.

Politically considered, Palmer has been utterly isolated for the time being. As a candidate for president he has been shown to have no following anywhere. From the A. F. of L. cabinet to the I. W. W., he is detested by labor. Federal judges denounce him from the bench as a ridiculous tyrant. All the middle class liberals who once supported this administration despise and revile the attorney general. Aside from Judge Gary's following and a few liberty baiters in Congress he stands absolutely alone.

To a self-respecting man in Palmer's place there is only one course open. He must meet and disprove the labor department's indictment of his methods and force the President to fire both Post and Secretary Wilson, or he must resign himself. That is, if he is a self-respecting man.

But nobody familiar with his official course charges Palmer with being that. His real calibre is shown in the so-called movement by Congress to impeach Post. To the extent that the impeachment effort had a basis at all, it was founded upon Palmer's tale-bearing about the department of labor. Fools and knaves in the House took up the charges and instituted hearings. Post's counsel sat through the imputation Lusk proceedings, and calmly waited for their chance to refuse the slander and to present their client as a witness in his own defense. All this time the attorney general kept far in the background. He has not dared associate his name or his office directly with any of the charges against Post. He has known that facts and the law were with Post, and has studiously avoided a direct encounter.

That spectacle of shuffling evasion gave Secretary Wilson his final measure of the attorney general, who stood revealed as a man afraid to finish what he had started. Members of Congress who began the proceedings found themselves marooned with Palmer, unable to proceed without being faced by the man they strove to destroy. So they tried to duck out of the whole mess by concluding the hearings abruptly.

At such a moment Secretary Wilson strikes the hot iron with the sledge of his Communist Labor Party decision. Let Palmer dodge the sparks if he can.

15th NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
S. L. P.

will be the subject of a symposium by

J. Braun, O. R. Server and J. D. Goerke  
delegates from Ohio

under the auspices of the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Pythian Temple, 919 Huron Road

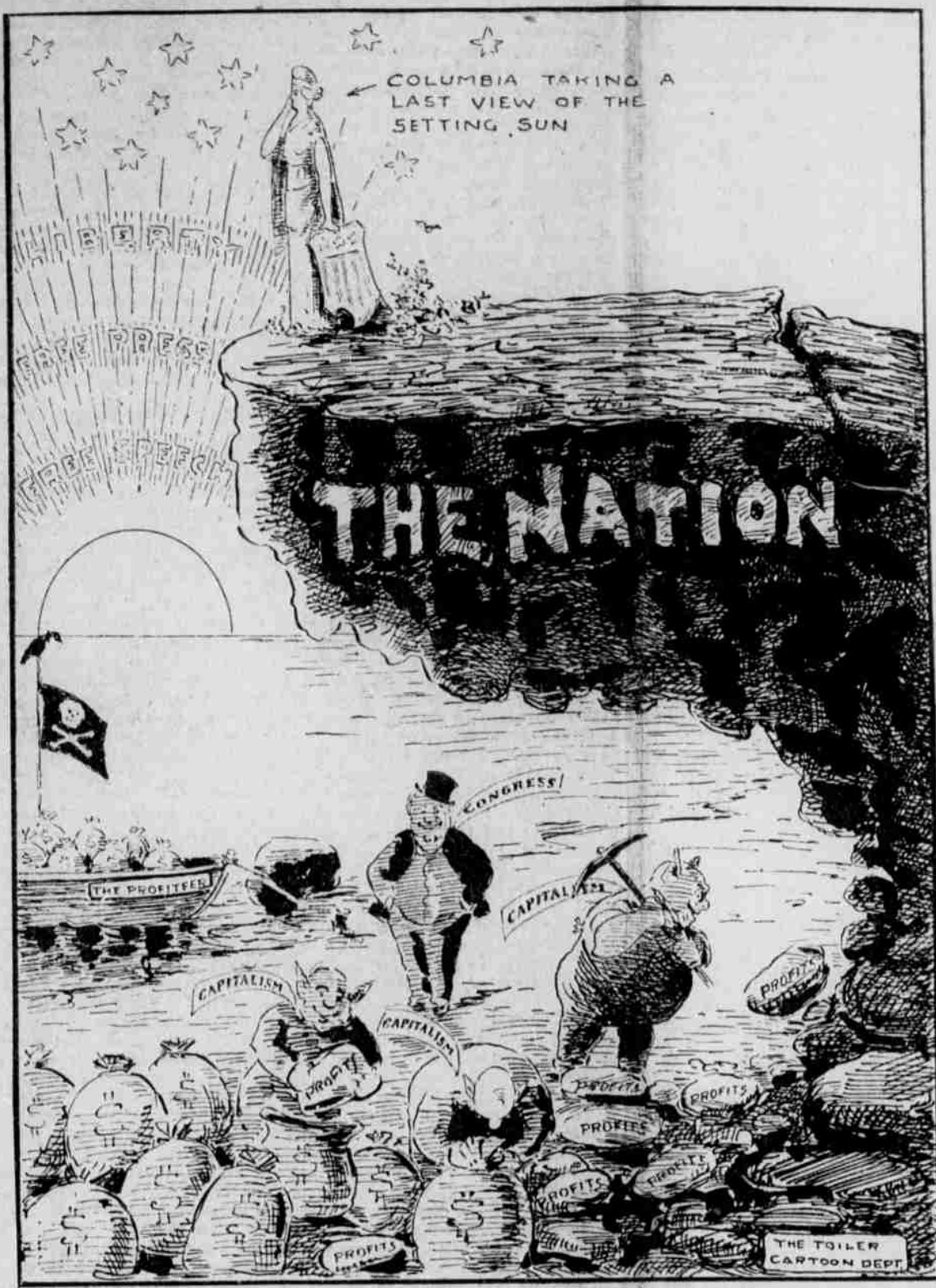
near Prospect Ave., and E. 9th St.

Cleveland, O.

SUNDAY EVENING MAY 23rd, 1920

at 7:30 o'clock.

— Questions and discussion invited. —



The Miner and Sapper

The insatiable desire of capitalism for profits and yet more profits, its unquenchable thirst for unearned increment, its demand from industry of the last "pound of flesh" is undermining the foundations of the nation. Industry, the foundation upon which is built such civilization as we have, has become merely a means of fattening the parasites of society, the exploiters of labor. American institutions are crumbling and ready to tumble into chaos due to the intensified coinage of profits from the nation's resources and labor.

In the imminent collapse of the economic and social structure, Miss Columbia, emblem of our one time liberties will be stood on her head amid the debris. Her tears will avail nothing. For after all, she stood only for a fiction, or at least for that which became a fiction when the class struggle between the makers and takers of wealth became acute. The setting sun of our once proud liberties is revealing in the glow of its last rays how fictitious indeed, were these liberties. In fact, we know that they were not liberties at all—merely privileges granted to the workers by capitalism and the capitalist state—granted just so long as the workers remained in ignorance how to use them for their own class interests. The moment the workers began to use them for themselves

and against the capitalist class, they were taken from them. The dictatorship of the capitalist class, acting thru its government, police, court and Congress annulled these "liberties". They ceased to be. THAT sun can rise again only in a world controlled by the workers.

Communists have no tears to shed because these things are so. They are the products of the development of capitalism. They were born in the era of capitalism's beginning, they will die with capitalism and what is good in them for the worker's will be resurrected by them in the building of the new Industrial Democracy that must follow Capitalism.

Liberty, free speech, free press, cannot exist in a society built upon slavery of the workers to the owners of industry. Such an incompatibility is unthinkable. And because this is so, they have been ruled out by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. So-called liberals and other straddlers may weep and rave as this sun sinks behind the horizon, their tears will be lost in the sea of turmoil that is rising.

Only thru the collapse of capitalism and all its institutions can real freedom be born to the working class. Workers should hail as presaging this collapse the destruction by capitalism of these fictitious "liberties".

## Victory Foreseen in Communist Labor Cases in California

— By J. G. Reed. —

(Special to "The Toller")

OAKLAND, CAL., April 29, 1920.—

We won! Yes, in spite of a six months

campaign of poison gas slinging by the

Capitalist press of these Bay Cities, in

spite of the worst kind of slimy tactics

and propaganda by the "best citizens"

of this community, in spite of having

our headquarters raided and wrecked

by patriots and police officials

in the name of One Hundred Percent

Americanism, in spite of being framed

up twice by the Oakland police, the

Communist Labor Party in the case of

the State of California vs. James H.

Dolsen succeeded in convincing six men

on a jury that the party was a legal

organization and the jury was a legal

organization because of "failure to agree"

"A funny sort of a victory," I

hear you repeating, but wait—

Anita Whitney was convicted! John

G. Wieler was convicted! Both were

members in the Communist Labor Party; she admitted having ideas contrary to the administration, but she lost out by not attempting a defense of the party. Her lawyers avoided the issues in the case, and defended the defendant personally. The same was more or less the case with that of Comrade Wieler.

On the other hand, Comrade Dolsen, State Secretary, Communist Labor Party, defended the party, and incidentally himself. He got the court to admit it was not a criminal case. And he defended the case as a social one, or still better a political and industrial.

The victory was a clean cut one. Not one principle did he compromise. The court was turned into a schoolroom where lessons in economics, tactics, propaganda, and organization were fully discussed. Capitalism in all its horror was laid bare. The nakedness of the violence, terror, and persecution was shown to the world in all its hideousness, but not one word of the damning evidence appeared in print in the prostitute press. Their publicity was done earlier in the days of the inquisition, and they were determined

to keep the first impression intact in spite of the truth.

Day after day I sat in this Court of "Justice", only during this case the court was transformed into a schoolroom, and followed the evidence as it unfolded, closely.

During the first two weeks the schoolroom was in charge of Professors Myron Harris (Prosecuting Attorney) and Fenton G. Thompson (Inspector of Police and head of the "Loyalty Squad"). They conducted courses in Law Prostitution (commonly known as juggling the law), and also gave very good lessons in "How To Perform The Gentle Art Of Frame-up", in good Fickert-ian style.

First they produced a young reporter who attended the first State Convention of the Communist Labor Party. He described the setting of the convention in the ill fated Communist Labor Party Building, identified reports, resolutions, and speakers attending the convention; swore to having "seen" centrist books on Syndicalism, Sabotage, and the I. W. W., and testified that the assemblage sang an "awful" song entitled "We'll Make the Bolsheviks Victorious", and another one that ended, "While Gene Lies In Prison For Us All". The songs, to be sure, were enough to damn us for life. Think of any convention in a land of the free wanting to make the "majority victorious", or making

## Socialist Party Convention Betrays the Revolution

Opposed by but a small minority of "reds" and "centrists" the socialist Party in Convention at New York last week completely eradicated from its program and principles the last vestige of revolutionary spirit and came out openly and enthusiastically for a program of compromise, fusion and "yellow" socialism. The strength of the "red" element left in the Socialist Party since the split in the party last September, when, at Chicago the Communist and Communist Labor Parties broke away from the Socialist Party, was seen on the first day of the Convention in the election of Morris Hilquit over J. Louis Engdahl for Chairman by a vote of 91 to 29.

The election of Hilquit was a test case which indicated the comparative strength of the two factions and all questions before the convention brought out nearly the same vote upon the floor. For the first time in years the conservatives had everything their own way. Having eradicated from the Socialist Party practically all opponents to their long loved principles of compromise and political trading, they proceeded to spread a path of bright yellow before the feet of the American workers.

Fight on declaration of principles.

As might have been expected, the real fight of the two groups centered upon the declaration of principles. According to a decision of the convention of last year a committee was appointed to draft a Declaration of Principles for submission at this time. This draft was brought in by Morris Hilquit, who after reading it moved its adoption. A minority declaration was submitted by the opposing group thru Louis Engdahl backed by the Illinois delegation and scattering support of radicals. A bitter fight ensued taking up some five hours of debate before the final vote adopting the Hilquit draft settled the matter.

Declaration, a "vote catcher". Referring to the mildness of the Hilquit draft, which declares only for political action, supplemented by industrial action by the workers, Engdahl charged that the purpose of those who had framed the report was to create something that would appeal to the Non-Partisan League and the Labor Party and that some of its sponsors would even go further to cater votes and response from "sympathetic" groups. It was in the paragraph of Engdahl's substitute declaring in a some what milder form for "the dictatorship of the proletariat" that the Hilquit draft was directed. "The dictatorship of the proletariat", declared Hilquit is not Socialist doctrine, besides being inconsistent with the rest of the preamble, we cannot speak to the workers vaguely of the class struggle, wage slavery etc."

The platform, declared Samuel Holland of Chicago, "contains nothing but nice phrases", while another member of the minority faction stated his opinion that it read like a high school essay. Hilquit's rejoinder was that the platform was being opposed not because it was too academic but because of the absence in it of certain well beloved phrases. He claimed that the basis for the platform was the assumption that the Socialist Party was a party of political action and intimated that it was criticized because its opponents found in it no suggestion of more "violent" methods.

No dictatorship for Berger.

The fight for a declaration for bourgeois "democratic" methods to be pursued by the workers during the transition stage from capitalism to socialism was soon brought to a close when Victor Berger arose and enlarged upon the possibilities of success for a third party in American politics. "I don't believe in dictatorship of any kind" he said, "I am for democracy."

Why do we have a convention every year for anyhow? To sprout wings-left wings, I belong to the center myself!" Ticker, who argued that the Hilquit report was evidently framed to get by the Department of Justice, urged the necessity of a dictatorship of the proletariat in order to conquer the bourgeoisie with as little violence and bloodshed as possible. Irving M. Weiss, of New York, declared his opposition to dictatorship of any body whether it be that of the Bolsheviks in Russia or of the capitalist class of America. For this statement he received hisses from the gallery.

"Soviets victorious!" How criminal

And to think that a convention of American workmen would "stop so low" as to pay homage in song to a "common prison rat!" What kind of a people could sing, "In a Living (Continued on page 2.)

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA" DEMANDS

McBRIDE.

— By Helen Angur —

NEW YORK.—Several thousand people in Carnegie Hall rose to their feet and cheered for a full minute when Isaac McBride, journalist and lecturer recently returned from soviet Russia, cried: "It's time to call a halt to this murder and say, 'Hands Off Russia!'"

The purpose of the meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Peoples' Freedom Union, was to demand the immediate resumption of trade with soviet Russia. That demand was voiced from hundreds of throats at the climax of McBride's description of the titanic miseries caused by the economic blockade by the allies.

"I saw soldiers of the Red Army whose heads had been blown to pieces with shrapnel, bandaged with newspapers," he said. "I saw great fellows gnashing their teeth to the ordeal of having arms or legs amputated with

James O'neal probably voiced the sentiments of the majority as fully as any when he attacked the world "dictatorship", and declared that the time and conditions that favored the Russian revolution must be studied before any attempt was made to adopt Russian methods.

"Let it go through the country that you favor a dictatorship of the proletariat and you will cease to be a political party," he said. "Adopt such a resolution, and you must do your work underground, for you will be driven underground by Sweet and Albany and the politicians at Washington."

"Bourgeois democracy, with all its shams and illusions, permits in normal times an honest and fair discussion. To impose the dictatorship program would turn every such democracy into an absolute autocracy."

The vote upon the principle of a proletarian dictatorship as a fundamental tactic of the revolution was 101 to 33.

Severs connection with Third International.

One of the principles laid down by the Third (Moscow) International as a basis for membership in it of Socialist and Revolutionary parties and groups of all countries is the adoption of the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a tactic during the transition stage from capitalism to socialism in order to the quicker place all power in the hands of the workers and to destroy with as little violence as possible all opportunity for bourgeois counter revolution against the workers.

The recent referendum of the socialist Party membership upon affiliation with the Third International by a vote of 3 to 1 with certain reservations will be discarded if the platform adopted at this convention is adopted by the rank and file. That it will be adopted goes without saying. The Socialist Party thus definitely places, itself outside the real revolutionary movement of the world and becomes a party of mild reformist if not reactionary measures.

The "Party of Debs", but will he lead it?

With the nomination of Eugene V. Debs as its candidate for president and Seymour Steadman as Vice-President the convention closed its deliberations. The question now is, will Debs accept the nomination? Opinion is divided as to what his decision will be. Communists point to Debs' statement before he was sent to prison, when in many speeches in Ohio and other states he voiced his entire approval of the Bolsheviks and their methods of gaining control over the capitalists and bourgeoisie, as bearing out the assertion that he would not degrade his revolutionary spirit by accepting the nomination.

Speaking of the victories of the Bolsheviks in conquering the enemies of the workers, Debs said in an article in The Class Struggle, of which he was one of the editors, in the issue of February, 1919, "They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromisers with our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death! From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, I am Bolshevik, and proud of it. The Day of the People has arrived!"

Will Debs repudiate that statement by accepting the candidacy of the party which has emasculated its platform to the extent of rejecting the principle which Debs accepted, advocated and which constituted one of the charges against him by the capitalist class courts and for which he was sent to prison?

Will Debs repudiate that statement by accepting the candidacy of the party which has emasculated its platform to the extent of rejecting the principle which Debs accepted, advocated and which constituted one of the charges against him by the capitalist class courts and for which he was sent to prison?

"Russia has learned to go hungry and still defy the world against taking her liberty away. The rank and file are dying now for the preservation of that liberty, and for the existence of the soviet state."

"Lenin told me that if he or Trotsky should go out into the streets and advocate the overthrow of the soviet, they would not last 24 hours alive. The rank and file were in arms in March 1917, and they overthrew the czar's regime. In November by power of the same arms and the same will they overthrew the Kerensky government. Tell me, if the armed proletariat of Russia was opposed to this government, do you suppose it could stand for a moment against the power of arms and will?"

Norman Thomas, editor of The World Tomorrow, and Harriet Stanton Blatch, of the Emergency Committee for Russian relief scored the treatment of Russians in America by the present administration. One thousand dollars was contributed to the fund for technical aid to Russia.